1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

177
535
727

killed. In pauses during the narratives the drummers beat rapid taps on the drum, as if in approbation. They did the same after each notable exploit had been narrated. The people joined in applause and shouting. Meanwhile the women relatives of the warriors, and any others who cared to join them formed themselves into a mimic war party. They elected chiefs, dressed in the clothes of warriors, did up their hair and painted their faces, donned war bonnets, and took up weapons. . . . The chiefs beat the drums and sang the scalp song. The women then danced in a circle against the sun's course and continued for about two hours.[97]

A final word of caution is desirable with regard to war antics as a feature of war dances. Such mimicry is found both in the Plateau and the Plains. But to avoid a false appearance of parallelism, it must be added that in the Plateau such war antics are a feature of the pre-conflict dance for protection and success, whereas in the Plains they characterize the post-conflict victory dance and exclusively represent actual experiences of the encounter just completed. Thus the Plateau performances are essentially a kind of sympathetic magic while in the Plains they are a formalized means of boasting and gloating. Imitative magic is normally absent in the Plains complex, according to Smith, unless the recounting of war deeds be considered such.[98]

GIRLS' PUBERTY OBSERVANCES

841
881

Ceremonial recognition is given the girl's attainment of puberty throughout the Plateau. In some parts, however, the observances are scarcely more extensive than those accompanying each subsequent menstrual period. In the Canadian Plateau the ceremonial is quite elaborate, and again among the Klamath, but the two ceremonies belong to quite different patterns. In the north the occasion is primarily one of training while among the Klamath it is a dance of announcement. The Klikitat participate in both traditions but neither is especially elaborated. The nearby Wishram are found at the other extreme; they give only very moderate attention to the period. In this respect they affiliate with all other groups of the American Plateau except the Kalispel. The latter definitely share the northern pattern. The Kutenai likewise share certain details of the ceremony with others in the north, but they stand apart in emphasizing several unique features.[99]

[97] Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, pp. 189 f.; cf. Smith, *War Complex*, pp. 447 f.

[98] Smith, *War Complex*, pp. 445, 448.

[99] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 68–70; Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 262.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

177
841
881

To the east and west of the Plateau highly contrasting attitudes are observed. In the Plains almost no attention is given to the attainment of puberty. The region does not stand alone in this respect, but is merely one with the entire area east of the Rocky Mountains. On the Coast, however, the occasion is utilized as the basis, or sometimes merely the excuse, for dramatic and rigid ritualization.[100]

It is difficult to see why the Wishram fail to participate in the ceremonial richness of either the Klikitat, on the one hand, or the Coast on the other. Wishram contacts with the Coast are closer, in general, than those of any other southern Plateau group. Furthermore, coastal elaboration did not miss the mouth of the Columbia. The Lower Chinook extend puberty observances over a period of five months. Apparently the Wishram in this case cling to the Plateau pattern with more than usual tenacity in the face of outside influence.

It is even more certain that the Flathead and Kutenai are maintaining a typical Plateau pattern against Plains indifference. Both tribes occupy considerable territory on the eastern side of the Rocky Mountains and have not been at all hesitant in accepting many aspects of Plains culture. But in this instance both continue to give ritual attention to the achievement of puberty. The situation is quite different with respect to observances linked with subsequent menstrual periods. The Flathead and Kutenai, together with their Plains neighbors, pay no attention whatever to these occasions. The woman is neither isolated nor subjected to any restrictions. In only one other place *in the Plateau* is this attitude repeated; that is the Wishram. The eastern cases are readily accountable in terms of adjacent Plains custom, but the Wishram are completely surrounded by tribes that both isolate the woman and restrict her actions at this time. This negative attitude is in keeping, however, with the slight attention given to puberty. Also, the Klamath, some distance southward, are rather indifferent toward these periods. Women belonging to a shaman's household are isolated, but perhaps not others. The Klamath do not affiliate with their neighbors to the south in this respect, for isolation is common in northern California.[101]

Since the ceremonialism of the first period is generally an elaboration upon the behavior pattern of each subsequent menstruation, the latter may well be considered as a basis for the discussion of the former. This of course does not apply to the Wishram, Kutenai, or Flathead.

[100] Cf. Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 314 ff.

[101] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 70 f.; Spier and Sapir, *loc. cit.*

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

841
881

Menstrual Practices

Isolation is everywhere practiced; the menstruant retires to a small hut at some distance from the house. A common hut for all menstruants is recorded only for the Chilcotin, Southern Okanogan, and Nez Percé.[102] The coastal habit of isolation in a screened corner of the house is found as a secondary practice in a continuous distribution from the Klikitat to the Kalispel (including Kittitas, Wenatchi, Sanpoil). Elsewhere it is absent. The occurrences indicate diffusion up the Columbia River.

The period of isolation is that of actual menstruation only or else conforms to the pattern number five. The latter custom is found only in the south central Plateau (Klikitat, Tenino, Umatilla, Kittitas, Wenatchi).

A more or less complete fast is required in only two recorded instances, the Sanpoil and Kalispel. Certain fresh foods are tabu among the Southern Okanogan and the Klikitat, but the custom is more consistent and specific in the Canadian Plateau (Shuswap, Thompson, Lillooet, Chilcotin, Carrier). Here fresh meat is invariably tabu and salmon also, except among the Thompson. In marked contrast to the Sanpoil, much of the south central area lacks food tabus entirely (Wenatchi, Kittitas, Umatilla, Tenino?). In the extreme south, the Klamath forbid both fresh meat and fish to the menstruant; this is consonant with northern California practice. The widespread tabu against fresh meat is thus broken only in the south central Plateau.[103]

A scratcher, usually a pointed stick, is used in some places so that the menstruant may avoid direct contact of the fingers with the body, especially the head. But this practice is much less extensive for the menstruant than for the pubescent. The instances are Klamath, Klikitat, Sanpoil, Shuswap, Chilcotin, Carrier; absent: Tenino, Umatilla, Kittitas, Wenatchi, Kalispel, Lillooet, Thompson, Coeur d'Alêne. The longitudinal spread is impressive, even though interrupted.

All except the last of these distributions tend to exhibit a south central area in contrast to a northern one, with the Athabascans included in the latter. The Klamath stand somewhat apart, facing southward in some respects. All of the traits noted have distributions outside the Plateau, especially in California.

[102] Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, pp. 111 f.; Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, p. 198.

[103] Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, p. 134; Cline, *loc. cit.*; Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 70 f., cf. p. 316.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

826
841

The central groups, notably the Sanpoil and Southern Okanogan, place strong emphasis on the contaminating properties of blood. Most of the tabus are explained, or at least rationalized, in such terms. The existence of a multitude of tabus designed to keep the menstruating women from contaminating other people and things argues against too literal acceptance of the declarations that menstruants are always isolated. There are not only tabus, but remedies in case these are broken. In the central Plateau the menstruant is not permitted to cook food or touch the food of others. She is forbidden to walk around the head of a bed, to take water from certain sources, to touch weapons, and the like. Yet in the menstrual hut there is no opportunity for such actions. But in fact much of the ill that befalls a household is attributed to the harmful influences of menstruating women.[104]

Puberty Isolation and Training

841
881

In the southern Plateau, excepting the Klamath, the puberty ritual is essentially the menstrual ritual somewhat more elaborated. For example, the Southern Okanogan girl

> left the dwelling house and remained in a little tipi built for her some distance from the village. Before she went her mother bound her hair in rolls which hung low on either side, behind her ears, and were decorated with fur and sometimes other ornaments. She was required to keep this coiffure during the period of isolation. She might not touch it, even to scratch it, on pain of future baldness. Instead she used a scratcher in the form of a miniature comb which hung in the tipi for her convenience. Her forehead and cheeks were daubed with red and yellow vegetable paint, applied over a layer of pine pitch. She wore undecorated clothing which she was not allowed to change. Sometimes she used a shell or a drinking tube, lest the contact of her lips dry up the spring she wished to drink from. . . . She remained alone in the hut, eating little or nothing. . . . When the flow ceased, she built a small sweathouse, and entered upon a long period of purification. . . . According to varying report, this period lasted from a month to a year. There was probably a great deal of individual and local variation.[105]

The long duration is reminiscent of northern practice. Among the Sanpoil, isolation lasts but ten days. Other details are closely similar, except that the girl is expected to engage in a certain amount of early morning exercise, especially running about the hills. This, too, is a northern custom, but is not unknown elsewhere.

[104] Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, pp. 134 f.
[105] Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, pp. 110 f.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

841
881

Farther south the practices are even simpler; special dress and hairdress are infrequent. Duration is short and fixed, usually at five days. The Tenino observe a ten day period, paralleling the Sanpoil (also northern California). Stale food is prohibited by the Klikitat, fresh food by the Umatilla. The Kittitas and Wenatchi observe a nominally complete fast. The Tenino have a common hut for all pubescents; at least so I have recorded. This is quite foreign to Plateau usage although there is a suggestion of it for the Southern Okanogan.[108]

The Flathead pattern incorporates a number of these practices but does not involve actual isolation. The principal and prescribed activity of the four day period is the gathering of large quantities of wood which anyone may appropriate. The following month the procedure is repeated.

The Kutenai ritual, in contrast, is highly specialized. The girl is isolated, either summer or winter, in a conical hut of bark. No food tabus are enforced, but water is restricted in quantity. She must not speak to anyone except her mother, who serves as proctor. Leading from the hut is a path of poles upon which the girl must walk when she leaves the shelter. Under no circumstances may she step directly on the ground. Inside is an elevated platform of poles on which she sits. Her fingers, and also her toes, are twined together with string so that they may not be separated. This is to insure against stiffening of the fingers in later life. At the end of five days the proctor rebraids the girl's hair and tightens the twining of the fingers and toes. On the tenth day she bathes in a stream and returns to camp, but continues to eat apart for some time. One year later these observances are repeated, but this time for five days only.

Among the Canadian Salish the occasion is utilized primarily as a formal training period. The practices of the Thompson, Lillooet, and Shuswap are fairly similar; those of the Kalispel belong here, too, though less elaborate. A résumé of Thompson practices will provide the picture. The pubescent is at once isolated in a conical hut. A girl sometimes moves to the mountains, accompanied by her parents. She wears a conical headdress of fir twigs during the first four days. For this period she does not wash or eat and drinks but little water. Inside the hut she squats on her heels, often in a pit which almost conceals her. She is wrapped in a heavy blanket, which she wears almost continuously. During the nights she runs about the hills; collects quantities of

[108] Cline, *loc. cit.*

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

841
881

wood which she burns; sings, dances, and prays. She digs trenches in the ground and carries heavy rocks about. She also engages in a number of arbitrary, time-consuming activities which have no practical purpose. She splits small fir trees from top to bottom and loops and ties the branches of others. For hours she plucks needles from fir boughs.

After the first four days she discards the heavy robe, except at night, and is allowed somewhat greater freedom in her activities. She may eat sparingly, lie down, and comb her hair. She is allowed to bathe but may touch her body only with a brush made of fir twigs. She uses a scratcher and a drinking tube. The arbitrary activities continue, and each night is spent in traveling about the hills and engaging in strenuous activity so that she may be strong and sound as an adult. She returns to her hut at daybreak each morning. Each day she paints her face and arranges her hair in rolls on either side.[107]

The isolation lasts for four months. In earlier times it may have been a year, as it is among the Shuswap. The Lillooet period is much shorter, being only twenty days, but in earlier times it equalled that of the Shuswap. The Kalispel girl remains isolated but five days, the southern pattern. All use the scratcher, and all but the Kalispel the drinking tube. The Kalispel girl does not fast or observe food tabus.

The Carrier and Chilcotin observances are very moderate compared to these. The duration for the former is four or five days, the latter, ten. Both observe a tabu against fresh food and hot food. The Chilcotin use the drinking tube but not the Carrier. The scratcher is common to both. Tattooing is done at this time by the Chilcotin. Neither have the hair dress with rolls at the side of the head. The period is one of isolation but not of vigorous exercise.

Dance of Notification

The ritualism of the Wishram and Klamath conforms to quite a different pattern. The Klikitat also participate in this tradition as well as in that described above. Instead of complete isolation or prolonged training, the ritual is here one of notification with public dancing as a central feature.

Spier has defined the area of which this ritual is characteristic, and has described the type:

> In Oregon and northern California there was a dance in which the girl participated each night of her period of seclusion. During the day she lay

[107] Teit, *Thompson Indians*, pp. 311–17.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

841
881

quietly at home or in a hut, alternating this with periods of strenuous activity, gathering firewood or uselessly piling logs. At dawn she ran toward the east. She wore a feather visor or her head was covered to hold her gaze averted whenever she emerged. Two dance forms occurred together: a circling ring and a line abreast trotting to and fro. Their accompaniment was a deer-hoof rattle; the songs related to men and women or to food products. The duration of the rite was quite consistently five or ten days. In Oregon at least this was the occasion for a vision quest. Throughout the region the performance was repeated at one or more subsequent illnesses.[108]

Specifically, among the Wishram, the duration is five days during which a dance is held each night. On the final evening the girl appears decorated with bead necklaces. These and other gifts are distributed among the guests.[109]

The Klikitat ritual is considerably more elaborate. Both the round dance and the abreast dance are performed. The girl stands in the center and sings but does not dance. The songs are "women's songs" or "love songs." The deer hoof rattle and hand drums are used. Gifts are distributed during the dancing. When a gift is displayed a dancer desiring it raises his hand in indication. Upon receiving it he dances about holding it aloft. A feature of the ritualism is a symbolic washing of the girl by her grandmother. The dances last for five nights and are repeated at a later time.

Among the Klamath the girl herself dances throughout the night. The guests both dance and sing. The girl dances with downcast eyes. The hairdress is related to that encountered before; the braids are arranged to form two clubs which are bound with braided cords. Buckbrush bands are worn around the neck, wrists, ankles, below the knees, and around the waist.[110]

General

177
881

The groups just discussed clearly affiliate with others who practice partial isolation coupled with a dance of notification, as depicted by Spier. This includes northern California and the southernmost coast of Oregon. But the remainder of the Oregon coast lacks the dance. The Tillamook are a possible exception. In describing the observances by the Tillamook girl, Boas states, "Sometimes she would dance during the night." Barnett questions the presence of the dance of notification,

[108] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 318.
[109] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 262.
[110] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 68–70.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

even though suggested by his own data. The Lower Chinook hold a simple one-day dance for friends, on the fifth day, at which the girl is not present. At the end of five months of isolation another ceremony is held in which the girl makes her appearance and takes part in the dancing and singing.[111]

This distribution suggests that the dance may have diffused northward from California along the Cascades rather than along the coast. The Klikitat would represent the northernmost point reached. From the Klikitat and the Wishram the dance may well have filtered down the Columbia Valley, reaching the Lower Chinook and modifying slightly the Northwest complex already present there. Immediately to the south, the Tillamook were even less influenced.

This Northwest complex has likewise been phrased by Spier.

> In the Northwest the adolescent girl was secluded in a closed-off section of her home, squatting in a constrained position, her head covered by a hat or mat. At the expiration of this period of seclusion a potlatch, a feast with distribution of property, was given in her honor by her parents. A series of songs were sung, hereditary in her family and satirical in nature or relating to love affairs. The personal restrictions continued for a period upward to a year.[112]

Obviously, the Oregon practices and those of the Northwest are not mutually exclusive. The giving of presents (Wishram, Klikitat, Northwest) and the duration (Lower Chinook: five days isolation, ceremony at end of five months) may be mentioned. This represents true overlapping of local specialties, not common participation in universal elements. Just so, the Plateau practices show affiliation at some points with the Northwest, at others with northern California. Yet two sub-areas may be delimited on the basis of dominant ritual characteristics.

The Canadian Plateau Salish stand out most clearly. The period is one of long duration during which strenuous activity is continuous. The motivating factor is training and the insurance of good health and strength for the future. Magical acts toward this end are numerous. The isolation and activities are away from the village, preferably in the mountains. The girl spends her time alone; she is visited when necessary by a proctor, usually her mother. A period of purification ends the isolation, but there are no activities that may be construed as notification.

[111] Boas, *Notes on the Tillamook*, p. 6; Barnett, *Oregon Coast*, p. 181; Ray, *Lower Chinook*, pp. 71 f. [112] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 317 f.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

177
881

The long duration is reminiscent of the Coast, but in this case it is a period of enforced activity; on the Coast, restricted activity. The coastal proctor remains close at hand; the girl remains in the village. Guardian spirits are obtained at this time by the Plateau girl, but this is incidental to the isolation and training.

In the southern Plateau, as noted above, the ritual is essentially an elaboration of the menstrual tabus. Occasion is taken to impress upon the girl the deep significance and potency of menstrual uncleanliness. Old clothing is worn; hair dress is specified; food tabus are emphasized; isolation is complete; the duration is short, conforming to the pattern number five, sometimes doubled. Guardian spirits may be obtained; again this is incidental. Purification is simply by bathing. No notification is involved.

A few elements of widespread distribution in the West now demand attention. The girl's face is hidden or her gaze held averted by a visor, large hat, mat or basket, from central California northward on the coast to the Tlingit. This practice filters into the northern Plateau, where a conical hat of twigs is worn, but is absent to the south. Bands are worn around the joints among the Klamath and sporadically on the Coast. This custom is not found in the Plateau but may be related to the widespread Plateau practice of wearing such bands after mourning. The stooped posture of the Coast is found in even more emphasized form in the northern Plateau. Nowhere in the area does the girl characteristically recline, as on the Oregon coast. The elevated platform on which the Kutenai girl sits is suggestive of the plank on which the Tillamook girl must squat, but the parallel is perhaps superficial. The path of poles and the twining of the fingers of the Kutenai appear unique. The repetition of the observances at a following period is found most characteristically in northern California, is absent in the south central Plateau, but recurs among the Flathead, Kutenai, Shuswap, and Lillooet. The two last cases may be the result of recent shortening of the initial period.

Most impressive in distribution are the arbitrary tasks assigned to the girl. The gathering of wood is demanded by many northern California tribes. The Maidu girl, for example, piles logs to no purpose. The Thompson girl likewise gathers firewood, and piles rocks. But the wood gathered is used for fires which the girl builds. On the other hand, wood gathered by the Flathead girl may be appropriated by anyone, and she carries quantities of water whether it is needed or not.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

It was mentioned above that in the Canadian Plateau the girl interminably plucks needles, one at a time, from conifer boughs. Far to the south, the Mohave girl "goes about plucking leaves from arrowweed brush—a perfectly useless labor—merely because she would forever be lazy if she remained sitting in the house."[113] Related practices are found in California.

The scratcher, either stick or comb, appears to be present throughout the Plateau except with the Coeur d'Alêne, Umatilla, and perhaps the Nez Percé and Wishram. The drinking tube is much less common, being used only by the Klikitat, Southern Okanogan, Sanpoil, Lillooet, Shuswap, Chilcotin, Kutenai, and Flathead (uncertain: Nez Percé, Wishram).

DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD

Clear-cut distributional differences are found in the Plateau with respect to disposal of the dead. The forms are numerous: inhumation; cremation; disposition in boxes, in baskets, on elevated platforms, in trees, in small elevated houses. Cremation occurs in the extreme north and south. Among the Carrier and the Klamath it is the exclusive form, except that Carrier children are sometimes buried in baskets. The Chilcotin, Shuswap, and Thompson practice cremation under certain circumstances, and the Coeur d'Alêne very rarely. Tree burial is utilized for permanent disposal by the Lower Thompson; for temporary disposal by the Tenino, Umatilla, Southern Okanogan, and Lillooet. The Lower Thompson also employ boxes and small houses as containers for the corpse. These are always elevated, sometimes in trees, sometimes on a platform. House burial reappears among the Wishram but in this case without elevation. Basket burial is employed by the Lillooet. Among the other Plateau tribes inhumation is practiced exclusively.

Talus slopes and gravel banks provide the most common sites for burial in the southern Plateau. River banks and islands are frequently used. Quite to the contrary, the Canadian Salish almost invariably sink their graves in soil, preferably loose or sandy soil. There is little consistency in location relative to the village: the Tenino, Klikitat, Lillooet, and Chilcotin prefer sites some distance removed. The Flathead invariably select a spot that is obscure and thus not easily found by enemies who might disinter and rifle the remains. If no such location

[113] Kroeber, *Handbook*, p. 748.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

776
787

acquisition. This appears to have been a local development among the Sanpoil, Kalispel, and perhaps the Southern Okanogan.[19] The spirit possesses the person, must be removed and "brought under control" by a shaman, then rubbed back onto the person to reëstablish the relationship but not to remain there. This procedure is undoubtedly related to the Thompson and Lillooet practice of rubbing on a spirit retrieved after being lost and the Kittitas and Wenatchi custom in which a shaman may seize a wandering spirit and rub it into one of his sons.

The identification which forms the basis of the Bluejay complex[20] constitutes a final significant example of coincidence of man and spirit.

Objective Elements

From conceptual factors we may turn to certain features of somewhat greater objectivity for further historic perspective. The duration of the quest has been mentioned above. One night vigils characterize the south central Plateau (Tenino, Wishram, Umatilla, Klikitat, Kittitas, Wenatchi, Southern Okanogan, Sanpoil, Coeur d'Alêne, Kalispel) and the Flathead. The Nez Percé and Klamath vigils continue for five days; this may be due to coastal influence. In the Canadian Plateau extended quests are the rule with durations as follow: Kutenai, one to seven days; Shuswap, three days plus; Thompson, four to eight days; Lillooet, two days to one year; Chilcotin, four days; Carrier, each day for thirty days. Extended quests are occasionally observed by the Umatilla and more often by the Kalispel. These data fall into three patterns: one night for the south central Plateau; several days for the Canadian Plateau and margins of the southern area; and consecutive daily vigils for a definite period, the Carrier form.[21]

756
787
869
881

The association of the spirit quest with a formal training period for youths, or puberty observances, is found in the southern area of the Canadian Plateau, but not beyond. The general type is described by Teit for the Thompson[22] but it is the Lillooet who carry it to the extreme in duration. The combined spirit-seeking and training for the profession of shaman requires eight to nine years, during which only frequent visits home are made. The training includes sleeping in a

[19] Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, p. 142.

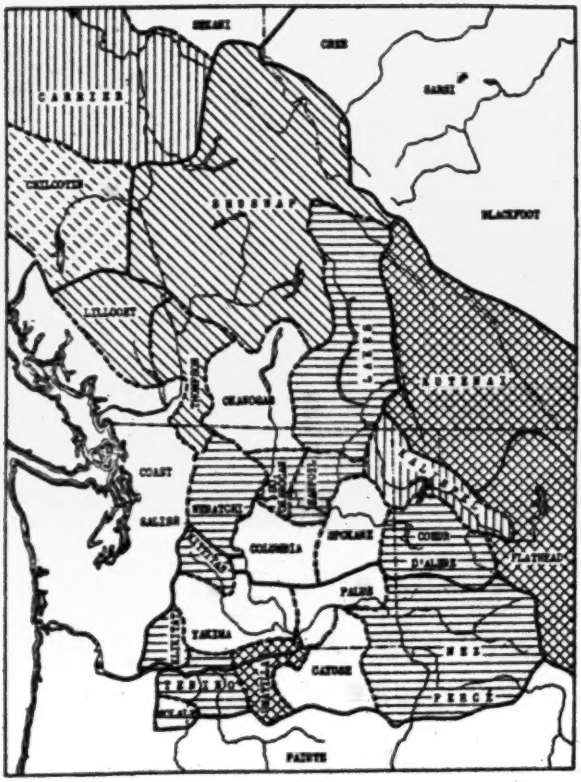
[20] See below; see Ray, *Bluejay Character*.

[21] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 240; Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, p. 138; Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, p. 248; Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 95; Teit, *Shuswap*, p. 588; Teit, *Thompson Indians*, p. 318.

[22] Teit, *Thompson Indians*, pp. 317–21.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

sweat house in an isolated spot in the mountains, sweating, massaging with conifer twigs, attempted trips to the land of the dead, mock shamanistic treatment, and the use of a human skull as a cup. Upon brief visits to the village the boy visits his shaman proctor and demonstrates



MAP 7. Period of the guardian spirit quest. *Horizontal hatching:* pre-puberty; *diagonal hatching:* puberty especially, also post-puberty; *cross hatching:* any age, pre-puberty especially; *vertical hatching:* any age, puberty especially; *broken hatching:* middle age.

his abilities. The proctor may send him back or declare that he has achieved his goal. Among the Thompson, Okanogan, and Shuswap the training is much less extreme in form and duration. The training period

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

appears to be a local development much influenced by Coast ritualism.

The age at which a guardian spirit may be acquired varies considerably through the Plateau. Several patterns may be isolated: pre-puberty (minimum age, six to ten years); puberty (range of two or three years); post-puberty (terminated by maturity); and middle age. A practice limited to the Southern Okanogan admits children of three to six years to the quest. In no group may elderly persons hope for success. The periods are not in all cases mutually exclusive. Another aspect which must be considered is the recognition of one period or circumstance as more favorable than another. Two categories are prominent: puberty and periods of crises. Data are scarce on the latter point and little can be added to Spier's discussion, except that recognition of crises as significant by the Klamath appears unique in the American Plateau.[23]

The pre-puberty quest as the exclusive form is noted for the Wishram, Tenino, Klikitat, Kittitas, Wenatchi ("virgins only"), Southern Okanogan ("almost always"), Sanpoil, Coeur d'Alêne, and Nez Percé (?),[24] that is, the south central area. Those recognizing prepuberty as the principal or most favorable period, but not wholly excluding later quests, include the Klamath, Umatilla, Flathead, and Kutenai, all marginal groups. The Canadian Salish constitute a third distinct group, in which puberty is the initial and most favorable time but later quests are not infrequent. Only among the Chilcotin is a premium placed upon middle age as a time for acquiring power. This is undoubtedly linked with the prolonged dreaming of the Carrier.

Throughout the Plateau a wide range of spirits serve as guardians. The Chilcotin share this trait to a limited degree but the Carrier do not. Regional specialization is to be seen, however. Inanimate objects play an important role only among the Kutenai, Kalispel, Shuswap, Thompson, and possibly Lillooet, a continuous distribution undoubtedly representing local elaboration of a more widespread notion.[25] The occurrence of mythological beings as guardian spirits forms an interesting distribution, for the source of the concept is unquestionably the Coast, where it is often the type. The instances are all on the Columbia River,

[23] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 94.

[24] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 239; Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, p. 137; Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, pp. 248–50.

[25] Teit, *Lillooet Indians*, p. 238; cf. Park, *Shamanism*, pp. 76 f.

5: Bancroft H-4 (no date) 1883 Plateau

and then must marry agreeably to her mother-in-law's taste or forfeit her husband's property.[178] The women make faithful, obedient wives and affectionate mothers. Incontinence in either girls or married women is extremely rare, and prostitution almost unknown, being severely punished, especially among the Nez Percés. In this respect the inland tribes present a marked contrast to their coast neighbors.[179] At the first appearance of the menses the woman must retire from the sight of all,

[178] Each Okanagan 'family is ruled by the joint will or authority of the husband and wife, but more particularly by the latter.' Wives live at different camps among their relatives; one or two being constantly with the husband. Brawls constantly occur when several wives meet. The women are chaste, and attached to husband and children. At the age of fourteen or fifteen the young man pays his addresses in person to the object of his love, aged eleven or twelve. After the old folks are in bed, he goes to her wigwam, builds a fire, and if welcome the mother permits the girl to come and sit with him for a short time. These visits are several times repeated, and he finally goes in the day-time with friends and his purchase money. *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 295–302. The Spokane husband joins his wife's tribe; women are held in great respect; and much affection is shown for children. Among the Nez Percés both men and women have the power of dissolving the marriage tie at pleasure. *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., pp. 410, 475–6, 486, 495. The Coeurs d'Alêne 'have abandoned polygamy.' *Stevens*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., pp. 149, 309; *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 406. Pend d'Oreille women less enslaved than in the mountains, but yet have much heavy work, paddle canoes, etc. Generally no marriage among savages. *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 198–9, 210. The Nez Percés generally confine themselves to two wives, and rarely marry cousins. No wedding ceremony. *Alvord*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., p. 655. Polygamy not general on the Fraser; and unknown to Kootenais. *Cox's Adven.*, vol. ii., pp. 155, 379, vol. i., pp. 256–9. Nez Percés have abandoned polygamy. *Palmer's Jour.*, pp. 129, 56. Flathead women do everything but hunt and fight. *Ind. Life*, p. 41. Flathead women 'by no means treated as slaves, but, on the contrary, have much consideration and authority.' *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*; vol. vi., p. 207. 'Rarely marry out of their own nation,' and do not like their women to marry whites. *Dunn's Oregon*, pp. 313–14. The Sokulk men 'are said to content themselves with a single wife, with whom.... the husband shares the labours of procuring subsistence much more than is usual among savages.' *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, p. 351; *Dunniway's Capt. Gray's Comp.*, p. 161; *Gray's Hist. Ogn.*, p. 171; *Tolmie and Anderson*, in *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., pp. 231–5; *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 208; *De Smet's West. Miss.*, p. 289.

[179] The wife of a young Kootenai left him for another, whereupon he shot himself. *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. ii., p. 169. Among the Flatheads 'conjugal infidelity is scarcely known.' *Dunn's Oregon*, p. 311. The Sahaptins 'do not exhibit those loose feelings of carnal desire, nor appear addicted to the common customs of prostitution.' *Gass' Jour.*, p. 275. Inland tribes have a reputation for chastity, probably due to circumstances rather than to fixed principles. *Mayne's B. C.*, p. 300. Spokanes 'free from the vice of inconstinence.' Among the Walla Wallas prostitution is unknown, 'and I believe no inducement would tempt them to commit a breach of chastity.' Prostitution common on the Fraser. *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., pp. 145, 199–200. Nez Percé women remarkable for their chastity. *Alvord*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., p. 655.

5: Bancroft H-4 (no date) 1883 Plateau

especially men, for a period varying from ten days to a month, and on each subsequent occasion for two or three days, and must be purified by repeated ablutions before she may resume her place in the household. Also at the time of her confinement she is deemed unclean, and must remain for a few weeks in a separate lodge, attended generally by an old woman. The inland woman is not prolific, and abortions are not uncommon, which may probably be attributed in great measure to her life of labor and exposure. Children are not weaned till between one and two years of age; sometimes not until they abandon the breast of their own accord or are supplanted by a new arrival; yet though subsisting on the mother's milk alone, and exposed with slight clothing to all extremes of weather, they are healthy and robust, being carried about in a rude cradle on the mother's back, or mounted on colts and strapped to the saddle that they may not fall off when asleep. After being weaned the child is named after some animal, but the name is changed frequently later in life[120] Although children and old people are as a rule kindly cared for, yet so great the straits to which the tribes are reduced by circumstances, that both are sometimes abandoned if not put to death.[121]

[120] In the Salish family on the birth of a child wealthy relatives make presents of food and clothing. The Nez Percé mother gives presents but receives none on such an occasion. The Flatheads and Pend d'Oreilles bandage the waist and legs of infants with a view to producing broad-shouldered, small-waisted and straight-limbed adults. *Tolmie and Anderson*, in *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., pp. 231–2. Among the Walla Wallas 'when traveling a hoop, bent over the head of the child, protects it from injury.' The confinement after child-birth continues forty days. At the first menstruation the Spokane woman must conceal herself two days in the forest; for a man to see her would be fatal; she must then be confined for twenty days longer in a separate lodge. *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., pp. 426–8, 485. The Okanagan mother is not allowed to prepare her unborn infant's swaddling clothes, which consist of a piece of board, a bit of skin, a bunch of moss, and a string. *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 324–30. 'Small children, not more than three years old, are mounted alone and generally upon colts.' Younger ones are carried on the mother's back 'or suspended from a high knob upon the forepart of their saddles.' *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 98. Houses among the Chopunnish 'appropriated for women who are undergoing the operation of the menses.' 'When anything is to be conveyed to these deserted females, the person throws it to them forty or fifty paces off, and then retires.' *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, p. 539; *Townsend's Nar.*, p. 78; *Alcord*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., p. 655.

[121] With the Pend d'Oreilles 'it was not uncommon for them to bury the